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BORDER SECURITY AND IMMIGRATION POLICY: THE FIGHT AGAINST TERRORISM

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Introduction

The 9/11 terrorist attack resulted in the death of 2,996 people after the hijacking of American Airlines Flight 11 and United Airlines Flight 175 attributed to al-Qaeda's leader, Osama bin Laden. After this devastating event, many countries reevaluated their border security and immigration policies to try to prevent any future destructive attacks. The fear of terrorists again grew after the 2015 Paris attacks, which resulted in the death of 130 people: "The triad security/immigration/terrorism has now reached enormous significance after the terrorist attacks of 13-N in Paris that have killed more than 120 people" (De Castro Sanchez 2017:244). Citizens fear for their safety, and it is put into the government's hands to protect them. Many people believe there should be more liberal policies to allow more access for people to enter the country, while others believe there should be much stricter policies to ensure safety by not allowing any migration.

One of the biggest controversies to arise recently is Donald Trump's promise to build a wall between the United States and Mexico. The wall was one of the greatest points in Trump's campaign, and one reason he was elected. Many question who will pay the bill and how much the wall will actually help. One of the reasons given to build the wall is to make it more difficult for people to illegally come into the country. In terms of the terrorist debate, how many terrorist attacks have there been from Mexico to the United States? Zero.

The debate has emerged: do these restrictive immigration policies and increased border security in fact reduce the probability of future terrorist attacks? "Academic and policy circles are in the dark as to how those different restrictions [immigration policy] affect the flow of immigrants and the consequent likelihood of terrorism. It is reasonable to speculate that not all restriction policies are equal in their ability to reduce or deter terrorism" (Choi 2018:16). Many research papers have focused only on immigration or border security, but very few have considered both. According to d'Appollonia (2008:228), "There is strong evidence that terrorist threats are not only external but also deeply rooted in domestic issues.

European governments ... still emphasize the external dimension of terrorism by using border controls and restrictive asylum policies as a way to improve their internal security.” The internal (immigration) and external (borders) workings of government both play roles in preventing terrorism, and it is the goal of this paper to discover the scope of the roles they play.

Literature Review

Why build a wall? Many states ask themselves this question while weighing the pros and cons of doing so; however, “the growth in violence by nonstate groups has led government to use fences to prevent insurgent activity and transnational terrorism” (Avdan and Gelpi 2017:14). Avdan and Gelpi (2017:23) found a positive association between fencing and terrorist attacks: “The incidence of transnational terrorist attacks across fenced border-years is approximately 4.8 percent, while the incidence across unfenced border years is just under 1.9 percent.” Jellissen and Gottheil (2013), however, found that “on the utility of security fences along international borders,” both Israel and India built walls because of armed conflicts with neighboring states, and both walls resulted in a decreased number of total civilian fatalities during terrorist attacks between 2003 and 2009. Although the research results of Avdan and Gelpi and of Jellissen and Gottheil conflicted, both pairs of researchers looked only at the presence of a wall, not also at border security. As Jellissen and Gottheil (2013:267) state, walls are “designed to obstruct the free and natural flow of demographic and economic movement.” In contrast, borders are permeable and allow movement of goods and services under the scrutiny of safety measures by personnel. It is important to note the difference between walls and borders to understand the level of protection that is being supplied.

Border security fulfills both long- and short-term strategies in the fight against terrorism. Short-term strategy looks at the plans and operations to interrupt terrorists and block their ability to achieve their goals. Long-term strategy focuses on preventing the growth of terrorist groups through ideologies and on building stronger international coalitions (Willis et al. 2010:17). Short-term actions include preventing terrorist attacks, blocking the transport of weapons of mass destruction to states, and denying terrorists support or control of any state. Long-term actions include promoting international partnerships and enhancing government counterterrorism infrastructure and capabilities. Willis presents that terrorism is fought not just by the presence of a wall but also by border security, which attempts to actively disrupt and hopefully stop future terrorist attacks.

With new terrorist threats and attacks, many countries are more inclined to make their security and immigration policies stricter. European governments, according to d'Appollonia (2008:228), have raised concerns about asylum seekers in particular because they are “the second most prevalent group of discrimination victims because of the perceived threat that they are potential ‘international terrorists.’ ” There is a balance that many governments try to achieve that is not too restrictive, which may result in criticism that they are building a “fortress,” but also isn’t too liberal, as legal or undocumented immigrants or asylum seekers have the potential to threaten internal security. New immigrants do not have strong ties to their receiving country and therefore may not have as many qualms about betraying that country.

Choi (2018) conducted a study on restrictive immigration policies. A debate was formed: “On the one hand, terrorism is likely to decrease when states impose immigration restrictions based on skill or wealth, or when states offer immigrants limited legal rights that permit only restricted residence and designated employers. On the other hand, terrorism is expected to increase when states allow no special visas or procedures to recruit immigrants, or when states give workers citizenship only when they are born to a native parent” (Choi 2018:14). Choi summarizes the biggest struggle countries face when making policies: There is a hard balance to find what will work best for each country, or what kind of policy is most effective.

A leaked memo from Dr. Frank Luntz, a famous communications expert, to the U.S. Republican party in 2005 discusses concerns that the United States may have about liberal policies with both border security and immigration/migrant policies: “ ‘Border security is homeland security. In a post-9/11 world, protecting our borders has taken on a whole new importance.’ As fear of terrorist attacks in the United States grows, this suggested framing has become the dominant narrative in the U.S. debate regarding refugees” (Voss 2018:43–44). The United States has clearly been moving toward strict immigration policies and border security, but has it been as successful in preventing terrorist attacks as other countries with more liberal policies?

Although research has been done on borders and terrorism, not much has been done concerning border security and terrorism. There has also been research on immigration policy and terrorism. Most of the available research has focused on small related groups of countries, such as Western democracies or a few countries that have strong conflicts with their neighbors, such as India. There has been very limited research on both immigration policy and border security along with terrorism, even though many studies have commented that the concepts have

recently been tied together: “the triad security/immigration/terrorism has now reached enormous significance” (De Castro Sanchez 2017:244).

According to the European Parliament (2018), there were 135 deaths in 13 attacks in 2016, compared to 62 deaths in 33 religious terrorist attacks in 2017; “Ten of these thirty-three attacks were ‘completed’, while twelve failed to reach their objectives in full and eleven were foiled, mostly in France and the UK.” Seven hundred and five (705) people were arrested in 18 EU countries on involvement or suspicion of involvement in jihadist terrorist activities. In 2017, there were more failed attacks compared to 2016. Although there has been an increase in failed attacks, there has been no research on a correlation of this increase with immigration policy or border security.

This paper seeks to answer the following question: How do border security and immigration policy affect terrorism across borders? Other questions I will touch on while conducting my research are: How fluid are their borders? How strict is their border security? What is their definition of citizenship? What are the rights of noncitizens? How many illegal immigrants enter the country? How firm is the enforcement of law?

This paper investigates both border security and immigration policy because they have been shown to work hand in hand. It will also look at countries all over the world, rather than a single cohesive group. I predict that weak central government, inadequate border security, and insufficient immigration policy foster terrorism. I hope my research will shed new light on border security and immigration policies regarding their effect on terrorism, especially because these have been topics of heightened concern and debate in recent years.

Methodology

For data, this paper uses the Global Terrorism Database (GTD) provided by the University of Maryland, a reputable school. The GTD is an open-source database that collects information about terrorist attacks around the world from 1970 through 2017 and has been used in numerous studies. This data set contains both domestic and international terrorist incidents. The GTD’s variables are split into eight categories: GTD ID and Date, Incident Information, Incident Location, Attack Information, Weapon Information, Target/Victim Information, Perpetrator Information, Casualties and Consequences, and Additional Information and Sources. My research focused primarily on dates and incident locations. Throughout my research, I utilized the year each attack occurred to examine the

policies implemented in that country during the same year. (For a complete list of the number of terrorist attacks per year per country, see Appendix A.)

I collected data on immigration policies from the Library of Congress, which provides information on refugee law and policy, citizenship pathways and border protection, and family-reunification laws for many countries. The Library of Congress is a reliable source. This was a starting point for much of the information to determine the restrictiveness of policies and border security.

Additional sources used to collect data are individual countries' laws, because going directly to the source rather than only to sources summarizing the policies gives the best and most reliable information for determining how restrictive a policy is and how strong a country's border security is.

The independent variable is immigration policy. To measure the level of restrictiveness of immigration policy, I utilized a format designed by Margaret E. Peters in her research "Open Trade, Closed Borders: Immigration Policy in the Era of Globalization" (2014). There are eleven subcategories of immigration policy: nationality, skill, quotas, recruitment, work prohibitions, family reunification, refugee policy, asylum policy, citizenship, deportation, and enforcement (Table 1). Each of these subcategories is coded on a scale from 1 to 5, with 1 being the most conservative and 5 being the most liberal. Conservative policies include complete closed borders or lack of entry for any asylum seekers or refugees, or, if allowing immigrants, policies deny immigrants rights or access to welfare and other benefits. Liberal policies include open borders; no quotas; high levels or high entry of immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers; equal rights for these people when compared to citizens; and access to benefits such as welfare and health care. (For each country's overall score in each category, see Table B.1.)

Category	Subcategory	Description
Border Regulations	Nationality	Used as a basis for immigration restrictions
	Skill	Restricts based on skill or wealth
	Quota	Limits number of immigrants each year
	Work prohibitions	Imposes restrictions on industries worked in or positions held
	Family reunification	Allows varying levels of family reunification
	Refugee policy	Sets entrance policies for refugees outside the state
	Asylum policy	Sets entrance policies for those claiming refugee status at the border
Immigrant Rights	Citizenship	Defines who can be a member of the state
	Other rights	Outlines other rights for immigrants
Enforcement	Deportation	Regulates who can be deported, and how
	Other enforcement	Imposes other enforcement measures

Table 1. Categories and Subcategories of Immigration Policy. Source: Choi (2018).

The dependent variable is the number of terrorist attacks. The definition I used for terrorist attack is the GTD’s definition: “the threatened or actual use of illegal force and violence by a non-state actor to attain a political, economic, religious, or social goal through fear, coercion, or intimidation.”

I chose at least one country per region of the world in order to have a global scale. The countries I decided to evaluate often receive a lot of media attention and have developed enough to have consistent data. The countries I chose were Rwanda (Africa), China (Asia), Germany and Sweden (Europe), Brazil (South America), the United States (North America), and Australia (Oceania). I chose to not include Antarctica because of the highly unpopulated area. Past research has focused mostly on cohesive groups of countries such as Western democracies or those with specific conflicts, such as those based on religion, rather than conflicts with a wide variety of possible causes, such as economic stability, corruption, and government.

A score was given to each of the 11 subcategories of immigration policy to measure the restrictiveness of the policy (see Appendix B). In analyzing the data, I compared the average policy restrictiveness for each year compared to the number of terrorist attacks. Comparing the number of terrorist attacks from before and after a restrictiveness score change will allow me to understand if these policies have been effective and if that effectiveness is contingent on how liberal (5) or conservative (1) the policies are.

Findings

Australia

Score: 2.9 (See Table B.2)

Nationality: 4. Almost all nationalities are allowed into Australia (Simon-Davies 2018).

Skill/Income: 1. Australia is focused on receiving only highly skilled and educated workers (Buchanan 2013). The 1994 Migration Regulations draw focus to skill-typed work visas.

Quota: 1. The migration program is separated into three streams: skill, family, and special eligibility. For 2018–2019, 190,000 total spots were available, including 128,550 for skilled laborers, 57,400 for partner visas for family reunification, and 565 for special eligibility. This program is set by the Australian government's budget process (Australian Government 2018).

Work Prohibitions: 5. The 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol required states to allow refugees to work and engage in wage-earning employment, including the right to self-employment (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) 2010). Australia is seeking out skilled workers and has no restrictions set on any positions available to immigrants other than national security positions or the number of immigrants who can work in a given firm.

Family: 3. Australia's migration program has a family stream that includes partner visas. These visas allow Australians to connect with their family members from overseas, in addition to providing a pathway to citizenship. (Australian Government 2018) An immigrant applying for his or her own visa "can include his or her spouse or partner (except in the case of the woman at risk visa), dependent children, and other dependent relatives in the visa application" (Buchanan 2013).

Refugee: 3. According to the Migration Act 1958, to be considered a refugee and be granted a protection visa, an individual must fear prosecution or serious harm based on their race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion and must not have committed a crime against peace, a war crime, a crime against humanity, or any serious crime before entering Australia (Australian Government 2019). The Refugee and Humanitarian Program holds 18,750 places for refugees. No test is required to receive a protection visa.

Asylum: 4. There are three visas set up for those seeking asylum: permanent protection visa, temporary protection visa, and safe haven enterprise visa. Once one has applied for a protection visa, they may receive financial assistance, health care, and help with other visa-related costs through the Asylum Seeker Assistance Scheme. With a protection visa, one is allowed to live, work, and study in Australia permanently (Buchanan 2016). There are 18,750 places available for all refugees and asylees. Since 2014, those seeking asylum in Australia without a valid visa are taken to a third country for processing and resettlement and are not able to apply for visas in Australia (Australian Government 2018).

Citizenship: 4. According to the Australian Citizenship Act 2007, a person born in the country is automatically an Australian citizen only if one parent is an Australian citizen or permanent resident. Anyone with a permanent residence visa who “[satisfies] residence requirements, [is] of good character, possess[es] a ‘basic knowledge of the English language,’ and [has] ‘an adequate knowledge of Australia and of the responsibilities and privileges of Australian citizenship’ ” can obtain citizenship. Those applying for citizenship must also pass a citizenship test and have lived in the country for at least four years (Buchanan 2013).

Immigrant Rights: 3. Some rights given to migrants include visa and travel costs, access to the Australian Cultural Orientation Program (a five-day course designed to prepare visa holders to travel to Australia and settle in; to provide information on laws, values, lifestyle; and more), and access to the Adult Migrant English Program (510 free hours delivered by the Department of Education and Training). In addition to those programs, refugees are able to apply for government payments and for access to Australia’s national health care system, Medicare.

The Humanitarian Settlement Services Program is a voluntary program delivered by a nongovernment service provider. The program includes arrival reception and assistance; help finding accommodation; property induction; an initial food package and start-up pack of household goods; orientation information and training; help registering with Medicare, health services, welfare, banks, and schools; and help linking with community and recreational programs (Buchanan 2013).

Deportation: 4. The minister may order the deportation of a noncitizen according to Division 9 of the Migration Act. Deportation can occur if a noncitizen is convicted of a serious offense.

Unlawful noncitizens are subject to mandatory immigration detention, during which detention they can apply for a visa. A person may be held in detention

until he or she is granted a visa or is deported. There is no limit to the length of time that a person may be held in immigration detention (Buchanan 2013).

Enforcement: 2. The Department of Immigration and Citizenship, Centrelink, the Australian Taxation Office, and the Australian federal and state police all work on locating unlawful noncitizens, including those who are illegally employed or who claim welfare payments to which they are not entitled (Buchanan 2013).

The Australian Border Force is located in all Australia's major and regional international airports; more than 60 international seaports around the country, including those in remote areas such as mining ports; and locations where international air and sea cargo, including mail, are processed after import or before export (Australian Border Force 2018). Border Force officers check the identities of all travelers and ensure that those travelers have relevant travel documentation in place. Officers also examine people, baggage, aircraft, ships, and small craft for drugs, tobacco, and prohibited goods and images, and they seize illegal goods and regulated items, among performing other checks. The Counter Terrorism Units help with inbound and outbound national security risks and are located around Australia's international airports and airports that operate international sectors (Australian Border Force 2018).

In 2013, Australia launched the National Security Strategy. The Strategy works on the increasing movement of people and goods to Australia, growth in transnational crime, and "ongoing irregular migration patterns," including increasing use of risk-based systems to target threats; enhancing cooperation across border security, law enforcement, and intelligence agencies; cooperating with regional partners to counter people smuggling; and implementing the recommendation of the *Report of the Expert Panel on Asylum Seekers* (Buchanan 2013).

Brazil

Score: 3.1 (See Table B.3)

Nationality: 4. Brazil has no laws or restrictions on nationalities allowed in.

Skill/Income: 1. Brazil focuses on highly skilled workers (Meyer 2010).

Quota: 4. Brazil has no quota for the number of people who can enter annually.

Work Prohibitions: 5. According to Brazil's general immigration policy, aliens need to have authorization to work. Tourist-, transit-, or temporary-visa holders cannot work (Soares 2013). Since the New Migration Law came into effect in 2017,

temporary visa holders can be eligible for work with or without an employee contract. Instead, they only need to prove they have a higher-degree diploma or equivalent (Brazil Immigration 2018).

Family: 4. Brazil's law allows a refugee to include many members of the refugee's family as long as the members are economically dependent on that refugee (Soares 2013).

Refugee: 3. The aliens statute of 1980's Law No. 6,815 defined the legal situation of aliens in Brazil and created the National Council of Immigration. Under this law, political asylees must abide by international and domestic laws. Brazil also has a humanitarian visa for refugees (Soares 2013).

Of 33,660 asylum applications in 2017, Brazil accepted 546. Brazil was selective, allowing in people from Syria, Nigeria, Congo, Guinea, Pakistan, Lebanon, Cameroon, Egypt, Iraq, Mali, and Sudan. As of 2015, a total of 713,568 migrants lived in Brazil (World Data 2017).

Asylum: 2. Being granted asylum in Brazil is a difficult process. Decree No. 42,628, of November 13, 1957, promulgated the Convention of Diplomatic Asylum and laid out the asylum process. Each state is not obligated to grant asylum or to give reason for refusal. Additionally, asylum may not be given except in emergency cases (Soares 2013). Though the process is very difficult and many are not allowed in, "[applicants] can appeal to the Minister of Justice within fifteen days from the receipt of the notification" (Soares 2013).

Citizenship: 4. Gaining citizenship in Brazil is moderately difficult. Decree No. 6,815, of August 19, 1980, laid out citizenship requirements. There is a language requirement, and the applicant must have residence for four years, along with other requirements, such as having a suitable job and good behavior and health (Soares 2013).

Immigrant Rights: 4. Immigrants in Brazil have many rights, equal to those of Brazilian citizens (Soares 2013). Rights include access to welfare and right to ownership of property. Non-Brazilian citizens are not able to vote.

Deportation: 3. The Ministry of Justice is in charge of deportation, and the Federal Police are in charge of arresting and deporting aliens. The Brazilian Penal Code (1940) is followed for deportation, and those deported include those who illegally enter, who act against national security or public order, or who demonstrate other intolerable behavior (Soares 2013).

Enforcement: 2. Overall, border enforcement is strong in Brazil. The Northern Border Protection's 1985 Projecto Calha Norte put military units along the Brazil border. The Northern Border Protection, Amazon Surveillance, Airspace Protection, and the Strategic Border Plan all work together to enforce immigration policies and border enforcement (Soares 2013).

Brazil has more than 10,000 miles of borderland shared with 10 countries. Only about 4,000 miles (in the populous and developed southern zone) has been defended regularly by the army. Brazil has a total of 23 official border crossing points; the rest of the country's borders are wide open, and many groups have routes to smuggle people and goods into Brazil (Cope and Parks 2014).

China

Score: 2.6 (See Table B.4)

Nationality: 4. China lets in people of almost all nationalities (CIA 2019; Haime 2011).

Skill/Income: 2. China primarily focuses on obtaining highly skilled workers but also looks to the economy and social needs for what kind of jobs are available and need to be filled, as shown in the Exit and Entry Administration Law of People's Republic of China (Jintao 2013).

Quota: 5. China has no quota for what percentage of the population can enter annually.

Work Prohibitions: 5. Immigrants welcomed into the country for the labor market are not restricted to positions they can hold or by number of immigrants allowed to work in a given occupation. The 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees (UNHCR 2010) requires states to allow refugees to work. Article 17 states that each state shall give refugees the right to engage in wage-earning employment, including the right to self-employment (UNHCR 2010).

Family: 3. China's permanent resident rules (2004) allow for spouses and unmarried children under the age of 18 to apply for permanent residence at the same time as the alien applying. A spouse who has been married to a permanent resident for five years and has a stable income and housing, any unmarried children under the age of 18, and direct relatives 60 years old who have no other relatives in China are all eligible to apply for permanent residence (Global Legal Research Directorate Staff 2014).

Refugee: 2. Entering China as a refugee may be very difficult. Article 19 of the Exit and Entry Administration Law of the People's Republic of China states that foreigners applying for visas "need to provide written invitation issued by entities or individuals within China" (Jintao 2013). As of 1982, China does follow the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, adopting the UN definition of refugee (UNHCR 2010).

As of June 2015, China had 301,057 refugees (Zhang 2016). Refugee registration and refugee status are conducted by the UNHCR Beijing office. Article 46 of the Exit and Entry Administration Law of the People's Republic of China allows those applying for refugee status to stay in China while the screening process is being conducted (Jintao 2013).

Asylum: 2. Article 15 of Order No. 31 (1985) states, "Aliens who seek asylum for political reasons shall be permitted to reside in China upon approval by the competent authorities of the Chinese Government." Domestic law regarding refugees and asylum is still under development. The 2012 Law on the Administration of Exit and Entry allows refugees and asylum seekers to obtain ID cards (Jintao 2013).

Citizenship: 3. The process of naturalization is very difficult and is rarely granted. The Nationality Law of 1980 lays out the process of naturalization. Naturalization is not very common other than through marriage or through great contribution; however, a foreign national or stateless person who will obey China's constitution and laws and who is a close relative to a Chinese national, has settled in China, and has other legitimate reasons may be naturalized (Zhang 2015).

Immigrant Rights: 2. Article 46 of the Exit and Entry Law gives refugees and asylum seekers the right to ID cards, along with the possibility of the right to work and the right to education (Zhang 2016). Chinese law includes nothing about giving immigrants the right to welfare, property, or religion (Jintao 2013).

Deportation: 2. Articles 4 and 29 of the Law of the People's Republic of China on Control of the Entry and Exit of Aliens lay out the guidelines for deportation and arrests. Article 4 lays out the rights of aliens on Chinese territory, and Article 29 lays out the consequences for those who enter illegally.

Enforcement: 1. The Public Security Border Control Troops (People's Armed Police Border Control Troops) enforce China's land and coastal borders and maritime security. This includes border inspections to prevent illegal border crossings, drug trafficking, and smuggling, and organization of and participation in counterterrorist and emergency-management operations (Zhang 2015).

China has border control stations at all major Chinese airports, seaports, and land border stations. The Ministry of Public Security staffed the professional police into its border police force. Now, General Border Inspection Stations are in nine major cities: Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai, Guangzhou, Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Xiamen, Haikou, and Shantou (Zhang 2015).

Germany

Score: 3.2 (See Table B.5)

Nationality: 4. Germany welcomes almost all nationalities.

Skill/Income: 2. Germany limits acceptance of immigrants to skilled workers needed by German employers (Palmer 2013). Section 19 of the Residence Act of 2004 allows permanent settlement permits for highly qualified foreigners (Bottcher 2018).

Quota: 5. Germany has no quota system.

Work Prohibitions: 5. The 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees requires states to allow refugees to work; Article 17 states that each state shall give refugees the right to engage in wage-earning employment, including the right to self-employment (UNHCR 2010). Germany has no restrictions on what or how many positions can be held by immigrants in any given firm.

Family: 2. Section 104, Transitional provisions, of the Residence Act explains which family members of immigrants can also become residents of Germany; “spouses, registered same-sex partners, minor children, and parents of minor children are considered family members” (Global Legal Research Directorate Staff 2014).

Refugee: 2. Germany’s Asylum Act (2008) and the UN definition of refugee (Convention of 1951 on legal status of refugees) lay out the definition for refugees, and the requirements. The Residence Act of 2004 lays out the current immigration system. Before this, Germany was not very welcome to immigrants. The Residence Act “promotes integration by shortening the periods of residence required before granting permanent status and by requiring language skills and acculturation for renewals of residence permits” (Gesley 2016).

Asylum: 4. The Acceleration of Asylum Procedures 2015 “amended several laws in order to accelerate the asylum process; substitute in-kind benefits for cash benefits; reduce the financial burden on the German states and municipalities;

reform integration policies for refugees.” Asylum seekers receive essential items such as food, housing, heat, clothing, health care, and household items in the form of vouchers. The Federal Employment Agency assumes costs for integration and for language classes for asylum seekers who are likely to be approved. The right to asylum is a constitutional right in Germany and is granted to everyone who flees political persecution (Gesley 2016).

Citizenship: 4. To acquire German citizenship, candidates must qualify via naturalization, right of blood, or right of soil. To qualify via naturalization, seekers must live in the country for eight or more years, be German-language proficient, be financially stable, pass a citizenship test, and renounce any previous citizenships. By right of blood, a candidate can only be a direct descendant of German citizens—only parents. By right of soil, a candidate must be born within the borders of Germany (Germany Visa 2019).

Immigrant Rights: 2. The Asylum Seeker Benefits Act of August 5, 1997, provides refugees and asylum seekers with food, housing, clothing, health care, and household items (Gesley 2016).

Deportation: 3. On the grounds of public security and order, deportation is allowed if someone has entered illegally, hasn’t applied for residence, or needs to return to a different member state. It would become necessary to leave the country with the denial of residence title (Bottcher 2018).

Enforcement: 4. Because Germany is a member of the Schengen Agreement (1985) and shares borders with Poland, Czechia, Switzerland, Austria, France, Belgium, and Luxembourg, the country does not maintain border checkpoints. Germany relies on Schengen countries with external borders to enforce immigration and customs laws. Germany’s only external borders are on the coasts of the North and Baltic Seas and international airports. The German Federal Police still have the responsibility of protecting borders against illegality, such as via random checks of the border area (Palmer 2013).

Rwanda

Score: 3.2 (See Table B.6)

Nationality: 4. Rwanda welcomes people of almost all nationalities. The country started issuing visas to Africans in 2013 (Mpirwa 2018).

Skill/Income: 1. The National Migration Policy is aimed at attracting skilled workers, promoting investment and tourism, and enhancing national security.

Immigration policy was designed in an effort to merge Rwanda's development strategies with the flow of people into the country (Immigration in Rwanda 2016).

Quota: 5. Rwanda has no quota on the percent of the population who can enter annually.

Work Prohibitions: 5. Rwanda has no restrictions on which positions immigrants can hold or how many immigrant workers can be in a given occupation.

Family: 2. Law No. 17/99 of 1999 on Immigration and Emigration (Chapter 3) focuses on the control of entry in the country, including family entry: "Article 14: On returning to Rwanda, wherever they are coming from, Rwandans and members of their families must be in possession of a passport or another document replacing the passport. Article 15: Entry in Rwanda following the clauses of article 14 of this law is also allowed to foreign residents in Rwanda as well as members of their families." In this law, "family" refers to spouses as well as to children aged less than 21 years of age.

Refugee: 5. The UNHCR provides cash assistance for refugees returning to Rwanda after 1999 from the Rwandan genocide. These refugees also receive three months of food rations and a year of health insurance. A total of 3,454,864 refugees have returned since 1994 (UNHCR 2018a,b). Hosting more than 150,000 refugees, Rwanda gives refugees the right to do business, as well as access to health services and insurance, banking, and education (Wachiaya, 2019).

Asylum: n/a. Asylum is not mentioned in Rwandan law; it therefore is not counted as a category in this study.

Citizenship: 4. To become naturalized, a person must be over 18 years of age, have good behavior, not be a burden to the nation, know Kinyarwanda, and present a receipt of payment to the Public Treasury. Natural status is determined by an Order of the Minister. A child born in Rwanda from an unknown or stateless parent cannot have citizenship (Republic of Rwanda 2004).

Immigrant Rights: 4. Refugees have the right to do business and to access health services and insurance, banking, and education (Wachiaya, 2019).

Deportation: 3. Any undesirable foreign person will be turned back from Rwanda as stipulated in Article 13 of Law No. 17/99 of 1999 on Immigration and Emigration. Anyone who enters illegally will be deported and may be penalized with imprisonment for anywhere from 15 days to 3 months, or with a fine of ten to five hundred thousand francs.

Enforcement: 4. Rwanda has an open border and secure country policy. Rwanda has some border enforcement with 17 border points, but there is little enforcement at the borders and screening points. The National Migration Policy described some of the nation's constraints on creating strong staff and borders: there is a lack of secure infrastructure, qualified and trained personnel, and equipment for proper border clearance.

Rwanda has been hosting thousands of refugees for decades and today is home to more than 170,000 refugees and asylum seekers, mainly from Burundi and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). The government supports the refugee response through provision of land for reception centers and refugee camps; it leads camp management and coordination and has demonstrated a progressive approach to refugees by committing to include them in national systems such as health insurance and education.

Sweden

Score: 3.9 (See Table B.7)

Nationality: 4. Sweden allows in people of almost all nationalities. The five largest countries of origin among asylum seekers were Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, Eritrea, and Somalia (Hofverberg 2016).

Skill/Income: 3. Sweden has some preference toward skilled workers, especially specialists, but does let in lower-skilled workers (Swedish Migration Agency 2019).

Quota: 5. Sweden has a quota of 1,900 for refugees, which will gradually increase to 5,000, but does not have a quota system for immigrants as a whole.

Work Prohibitions: 5. The 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees requires states to allow refugees to work; Article 17 states that each state shall give refugees the right to engage in wage-earning employment, including the right to self-employment (UNHCR 2010). Sweden does not have any restrictions on what occupations immigrants can hold or on the number of immigrants allowed to work in a given occupation.

Family: 2. Family members who can be brought along are current or future spouses or cohabitants, as well as biological children under the age of 18 or children of the spouse/cohabitant (Global Legal Research Directorate Staff 2014).

Refugee: 3. Sweden adopted the Protocol from the Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, recognizing the UN definition of a refugee. Sweden has a refugee quota starting at 1,900 but will increase that to the 5,000 given by the UNHCR program. These quota refugees are first screened by the UNHCR through in-person interviews or through a review of documents (Hofverberg 2016).

Asylum: 4. In 2015, Sweden received approximately 160,000 applications for asylum. Seekers are given free housing, health and dental care, and schooling for children ages pre-kindergarten to 20 (Hafverberg 2016). Those seeking asylum may be refused if they are deemed a refugee or in need of a subsidiary protection in an EU member state or a third country, or if the person can be sent to a country where they can apply for asylum (Hofverberg 2016).

Citizenship: 5. According to the Swedish Citizenship Act (2001), to be naturalized, one must provide proof of identity; be over the age of 18; hold a permanent Swedish resident permit; have been domiciled in Sweden for the previous two years if a Danish, Finnish, Icelandic, or Norwegian citizen, four years if a stateless person under the Aliens Act (2005), or five years for other aliens; and have led and be expected to lead a respectable life (Ministry of Industry 2001).

Immigrant Rights: 4. Article 3 of the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees lays out nondiscrimination agreements in which the state will not discriminate based on race, religion, or country of origin (UNHCR 2010).

Asylum seekers receive monetary aid (free housing and monetary support while their applications are being processed), health and dental care (Health Care Act and the Act on Health Care for Asylum Seekers), schooling, housing, passports, and priority in schools with waiting lists (Hafverberg 2016).

Deportation: 5. Detention orders are most frequently issued by the Swedish Migration Agency (*Migrationsverket*, formerly the Migration Board) or the Police Authority. Detainees have access to an oral hearing before each review. The Aliens Act provides that migration detainees should be appointed a public counsel after three days in detention (Global Detention Project 2018).

Enforcement: 4. The Security Police, founded in 1989, can review applications and advise against the granting of asylum in certain cases to ensure that those who can be potential threats will not be given permanent residency rights or citizenship (Hafverberg 2016).

In November 2015, the Swedish government decided to reintroduce border controls at the internal border, meaning borders to other Schengen countries, at select border crossings. Persons entering Sweden need to show proof of the right to enter and stay in the country (e.g., by providing a passport or national ID card). Persons traveling to or from Sweden across an internal border are therefore advised to bring a passport or national ID card. The regulations surrounding external and internal border control are stipulated in the Schengen Borders Code, regulation (EU) 2016/399 (Border Control).

United States

Score: 2.7 (See Table B.8)

Nationality: 3. Several laws over the years had been created to exclude certain nationalities. The 1952 Immigration and Nationality Act gave back opportunities for Asians to immigrate into the United States. There was a quota of 100 visas per year. Executive Order 13780 of March 6, 2017 (Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States) has suspended and limited people of the following countries from entering the United States: Chad, Iran, Libya, North Korea, Syria, Venezuela, Yemen, and Somalia (Trump 2017).

Skill/Income: 2. The 1952 Immigration and Nationality Act created a preference system to prioritize visa applicants in countries with heavily oversubscribed quotas. Individuals with special skills or families already residing in the United States had precedence. This preference is still enacted today (Office of the Historian N.d.b). Temporary visas are available for both high-skilled and lesser-skilled employment, but the visa holders must leave once their status expires or if their employment is terminated. The permanent employment-based visas are divided into five preference categories (American Immigration Council 2016).

Quota: 1. The Immigration Act of 1992 was the first act to limit the number of immigrants allowed entry into the United States through a national origins quota (Office of the Historian N.d.a). The United States has an annual worldwide limit of 675,000 permanent immigrants, with an additional 50,000 refugee spots (American Immigration Council 2016); 140,000 visas are available for permanent employment-based immigrants. With a population of 327.2 million, only 0.002% of the population can enter annually.

Work Prohibitions: 5. Typically, non-U.S. citizens cannot work for the federal government.

Family: 3. The United States has a family-preference system determined in the Immigration Act of 1990. One may bring immediate relatives as long as they are spouses of U.S. citizens, unmarried minor children of U.S. citizens under the age of 21, and parents of U.S. citizens. The family-preference system includes adult children (married and unmarried) and brothers and sisters of U.S. citizens, as well as spouses and unmarried children (minor and adults) of a lawful permanent resident. There are 480,000 preference-system visas available (American Immigration Council 2016).

Refugee: 3. Following the Vietnam War, the Refugee Act of 1980 raised the annual ceiling for refugees from 17,400 to 50,000 in addition to changing the definition of refugee to that established by the United Nations' 1951 conventions and 1967 protocols (U.S. Congress 1980). During the Obama administration, the refugee ceiling was set at 110,000, but the Trump administration reduced it to 50,000. In addition to reducing the refugee admission ceiling, the Trump administration also suspended the entire U.S. refugee admissions program for 120 days in 2017 and has indefinitely suspended the entry of Syrian refugees (American Immigration Council 2018b).

Asylum: 4. Those seeking asylum may apply at any port of entry or within one year of arriving to the United States. There are no limitations of the number of individuals able to be granted asylum in a given year (American Immigration Council 2016). To be considered an asylee, one must have credible and reasonable fear during the screening processes.

According to the 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act, all individuals who seek asylum at ports of entry will be detained and will remain there even after officials have confirmed their claims are credible. Some applicants are released if deemed unlikely to flee and as not posing a safety threat. The denial rate of asylum cases was at 61.8 percent as of 2017 (Cepla 2019).

Asylees can work, can apply for Social Security cards, can petition to bring family members to the United States, and may be eligible for benefits such as Medicaid or Refugee Medical Assistance (American Immigration Council 2018b).

Citizenship: 4. According to the 1952 Immigration and Nationality Act (§1401) regarding nationals and citizens of the United States, anyone born in the United States is a U.S. citizen, and anyone who is born outside of the United States but has a parent who is a citizen is a U.S. citizen. The 1952 Immigration and Nationality Act lays out the requirements that one must fulfill to become naturalized in the

United States. One must have an understanding of the English language (reading, writing, and speaking), along with an understanding of the fundamentals of the history and the principles and form of government. Additionally, a person must have lived in the United States for at least five years with no absence greater than six months in a one-year period and must also be of good moral character (Office of the Historian N.d.b).

Immigrant Rights: 3. The 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act established the Systematic Alien Verification for Entitlements (SAVE) Program, “a system for verifying the immigration status of non-citizenship applicants for, and recipients of, certain types of federally funded benefits ... available to federal, state, and local benefit-granting agencies” (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services 2017). SAVE could be used for the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act for health benefits. Immigrants with lawful permanent resident status are eligible for federal public benefit programs only after five years; however, immigrants are eligible for some state benefit programs (Cerza 2018).

Asylees can work, apply for Social Security cards, and petition to bring family members to the United States, and they may be eligible for benefits such as Medicaid or Refugee Medical Assistance (American Immigration Council 2018a). Anyone on a temporary work visa must leave the country if they leave or are fired from their job. Immigrants do have constitutional rights.

Deportation: 3. The United States deports foreign nationals who commit crimes, are threats to public safety, or violate their visas. The Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigration Responsibility Act of 1996 allows for the deportation of an undocumented immigrant who commits a misdemeanor or a felony. According to the American Immigration Council (2016), “Temporary work visas allow for the deportation of holders if their employment is terminated.”

Individuals who enter the United States without travel documents may be deported without an immigration court hearing or may go before a judge through the Immigration Court of the U.S. Department of Justice. Others who are facing deportation and feel that their civil rights are being violated may file complaints with the Department of Homeland Security. An undocumented immigrant is able to go through an adjustment-of-status process to get a green card through a petition by a family member or through asylum. Appeal of a deportation order is allowed, and those who wish to appeal may seek legal advice through nonprofit organizations (United States Government 2018).

Enforcement: 1. The Department of Homeland Security was founded in 2002. It had a budget of \$55.1 billion for 2010. Total staffing for border control was 20,558. (U.S. Customs and Border Protection 2018). As of 2019, the projected budget for the Department of Homeland Security is \$47.5 billion, with an additional \$6.7 billion for the Disaster Relief Fund. This budget is to “focus on strengthening the security of our Nation through increased emphasis on border security, immigration enforcement, cybersecurity and improving our overall law enforcement and national security posture.” Total staffing in 2017 was 19,437 (U.S. Customs and Border Protection 2018).

Results

Every country had the same value (5) for work prohibitions, so the category had to be thrown out because of zero variance. A bivariate correlation test through the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) was conducted for each country to determine if any significant correlation existed between the number of attacks in a country and the restrictiveness of policies through the years. The null hypothesis is that there is no difference or correlation between the number of terrorist attacks and the policy-restrictiveness score.

The bivariate correlation tests showed no statistical significance for Australia, Brazil, Germany, Rwanda, or Sweden (see Tables C.1, C.2, and C.4–C.6). There is no relation between the number of attacks and the restrictiveness of these countries’ policies. Test for both China and the United States showed statistical significance (see Tables C.3 and C.7). The test for China demonstrated statistical significance at the 0.01 level, showing a correlation between the number of attacks and the restrictiveness of China’s policies. The test for the United States demonstrated statistical significance at the 0.05 level, showing a correlation between the number of attacks and the restrictiveness of U.S. policies. Although statistical significance was proven, the kind of correlation is not shown.

The United States and China showed statistical significance in the bivariate correlation tests. To determine what that correlation is, curve estimations in SPSS were used to show the linear regression between the number of attacks per year and the restrictiveness of policies. The curve estimation for China shows a negative correlation: as the restrictiveness score becomes more liberal, the number of attacks per year decreases, on average (see Table D.1 and Graph D.1). The curve estimation for the United States also shows a negative correlation, in which the number of attacks per year decreases on average as the restrictiveness score becomes more liberal (see Table D.2 and Graph D.2).

Australia, Brazil, Germany, Rwanda, and Sweden showed no correlation between number of terrorist attacks and their policy scores. I failed to reject the null hypothesis for these countries. China and the United States have the two lowest current immigration-policy scores, with 2.6 and 2.7 respectively. Both China and the United States showed the same results: as the policy-restrictiveness score increases, meaning policy is more liberal, the number of terrorist attacks per year decreases. I rejected the null hypothesis for both China and the United States and accepted the alternative hypothesis that a difference/correlation does exist between the number of attacks and a country's policy-restrictiveness score.

I combined all the terrorist attacks with their corresponding policy score. After a bivariate correlation test was conducted, results showed statistical significance at the 0.01 level for the correlation between the number of attacks and the restrictiveness-policy score (see Table C.8). To determine what the correlation was, a curve estimation test was conducted and revealed the same results as those for previous tests for the United States and China: a negative correlation. As the policy score increases, the number of terrorist attacks decrease (see Table D.3 and Graph D.3).

According to tests for the United States, China, and the total combined countries (Australia, Brazil, China, Germany, Sweden, Rwanda, and the United States), the more restrictive border security and immigration policy are, the more terrorist attacks there are. Though causation has not been found, a correlation has been found between policy/border security and terrorist attacks. On average, the more liberal a policy or border security is, the fewer terrorist attacks there will be. China and the United States had maximum policy scores below 3, however. It is unclear how extreme a policy may get before more terrorist attacks may occur.

Discussion

The question I sought to answer was "How do border security and immigration policy affect terrorism across borders?" I found that the more restrictive border security and immigration policy are, the more terrorist attacks there are.

Previous research done by Choi (2018:14) discussed the struggle that countries have in finding a balance between liberal and conservative policies: "On the one hand, terrorism is likely to decrease when states impose immigration restrictions based on skill or wealth, or when states offer immigrants limited legal rights that permit only restricted residence and designated employers. On the other

hand, terrorism is expected to increase when states allow no special visas or procedures to recruit immigrants, or when states give workers citizenship only when they are born to a native parent.” The findings from this study have shown the more liberal to moderate the policy, the fewer terrorist attacks there are. Choi makes a good argument on the balance that needs to be found. This research agrees with Choi’s findings.

There are many variables other than policy and border security that could also contribute to the number of terrorist attacks that a country experiences. Some include country relations, stability of the government, and political environment, among numerous others. Additional research could control for those additional factors or for certain aspects of the restrictiveness of immigration policy and border security to see if a strong correlation exists between a certain aspect rather than the policy as a whole. Furthermore, more countries could be studied to see if this correlation continues. Although this research attempted to get a wide variety of countries from all over the world, the countries studied did tend to be larger and more resourceful. Some countries that could potentially provide more in-depth information and have significantly more terrorist attacks may have a lack of resources to provide their policies to the public. Future research could also delve even more into border security. In this research, the border-security aspect fell mostly into the enforcement category of the policy-restrictiveness score. Although this information was necessary, there is the possibility that border security could be broadened and researched in greater detail. Future research with regard to border security could encompass the number of enforcements on the borders, the number of apprehensions made, the number of checkpoints located around the country, and the types of checkpoints, along with others.

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Appendix A

Terrorist Attacks 1970–2017 (Global Terrorism Database)

Year	AU	BR	CH	DE	RW	SE	US	Year	AU	BR	CH	DE	RW	SE	US
1970	1	6	0	0	0	1	469	1994	8	19	12	79	33	1	55
1971	1	3	0	0	0	2	247	1995	5	23	8	147	17	1	60
1972	8	3	0	0	0	3	68	1996	5	18	64	52	15	1	35
1973	2	5	0	0	0	0	58	1997	4	49	18	12	33	4	40
1974	1	0	0	0	0	0	94	1998	6	2	2	6	9	0	31
1975	0	0	0	0	0	1	149	1999	0	1	2	13	0	2	53
1976	0	5	0	0	0	0	105	2000	1	2	4	8	1	1	32
1977	0	1	0	0	0	0	130	2001	2	3	12	8	1	0	41
1978	2	5	0	0	0	1	87	2002	0	1	2	3	0	0	33
1979	2	6	0	0	0	1	69	2003	0	1	3	2	0	0	33
1980	6	19	0	0	0	0	67	2004	0	0	2	3	0	0	9
1981	1	11	0	0	0	0	74	2005	0	0	1	3	1	3	21
1982	2	4	0	0	0	0	78	2006	2	3	0	4	0	1	6
1983	0	8	0	0	0	1	44	2007	0	0	0	3	0	0	8
1984	0	5	0	0	0	0	63	2008	3	0	20	3	1	1	18
1985	0	1	0	0	0	0	39	2009	1	0	7	4	1	1	11
1986	2	3	0	0	0	3	49	2010	1	0	1	1	8	3	17
1987	0	1	0	0	0	0	34	2011	0	0	4	8	2	1	10
1988	3	2	0	0	0	0	27	2012	0	1	4	5	6	2	20
1989	2	5	3	0	0	3	42	2013	1	3	12	0	4	0	19
1990	0	7	1	0	0	6	32	2014	8	3	37	13	2	5	29

1991	4	24	1	65	2	6	30	2015	14	5	6	65	0	32	38
1992	4	23	5	156	18	12	32	2016	9	2	6	44	1	16	64
1993	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2017	3	2	6	27	2	18	65

Appendix B

Country Policy Scores

	Australia	Brazil	China	Germany	Rwanda	Sweden	United States
Nationality	4	4	4	4	4	4	3
Skill/Income	1	2	2	2	1	3	2
Quota	1	5	5	5	5	5	1
Work Prohibitions	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Family	3	4	3	2	2	2	3
Refugee	3	2	2	3	5	3	3
Asylum	4	2	2	4	5	4	4
Citizenship	4	4	3	4	5	4	4
Immigrant Rights	3	4	2	2	4	4	3
Deportation	4	3	2	3	3	5	3
Enforcement	2	2	1	4	4	4	1
Average Score	2.9	3.1	2.6	3.2	3.2	3.9	2.7

Table B.1. All Countries' Immigration Policy Scores

Note: Given that the score for work prohibitions was the same for every country, it has been removed from the data analysis because of zero variance.

Policy Overview and Preliminary Scores

Each year presented in the table represents the year a new policy was enacted. Boldface numbers represent the categories affected by the policy in that year.

	1951	1958	1994	2007	2014
Nationality	4	4	4	4	4
Skill/Income		1	1	1	1
Quota	1	1	1	1	1
Family			3	3	3
Refugee	3	3	3	3	3
Asylum	4	4	4	4	4
Citizenship				4	4
Immigrant Rights	3	3	3	3	3
Deportation		4	4	4	4
Enforcement		3	3	3	2
Average	3	2.87	2.89	3	2.9

Table B.2. Policy Scale Scores for Australia

	1937	1940	1951	1957	1965	1980	1981	1985	1993	1997	2011	2017
Nationality	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Skill/Income						1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Quota	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Family										4	4	4
Refugee			3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2
Asylum	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Citizenship						4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Immigrant Rights	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Deportation		3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Enforcement								2	2	2	2	2
Average	3.75	3.6	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.25	3.12	3	3	3.1	3.1	3.1

Table B.3. Policy Scale Scores for Brazil

	1951	1980	1985	2000	2004	2013
Nationality	4	4	4	4	4	4
Skill/Income			2	2	2	2
Quota	5	5	5	5	5	5
Family					3	3
Refugee	3	3	3	3	3	2
Asylum			2	2	2	2
Citizenship				3	3	3
Immigrant Rights	2	2	2	2	2	2
Deportation						2
Enforcement						
Average	3	3	2.7	2.75	2.78	2.6

Table B.4. Policy Scale Scores for China

	1913	1951	1985	1986	1990	1997	2001	2004	2008	2015	2017
Nationality	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Skill/Income								2	2	2	2
Quota	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Family								2	2	2	2
Refugee		3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2
Asylum										4	4
Citizenship	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Immigrant Rights						2	2	2	2	2	2
Deportation							3	3	3	3	3
Enforcement			4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Average	4.3	4	4	4	4	3.67	3.57	3.11	3.11	3.2	3.2

Table B.5. Policy Scale Scores for Germany

	1999	2004	2005	2014
Nationality	4	4	4	4
Skill/Income			1	1
Quota	5	5	5	5

Family	2	2	2	2
Refugee	5	5	5	5
Asylum	-----	-----	-----	-----
Citizenship		4	4	4
Immigrant Rights				4
Deportation	3	3	3	3
Enforcement			4	4
Average	3.8	3.83	3.5	3.56

Table B.6. Policy Scale Scores for Rwanda

	1951	1982	1989	2001	2003	2005	2008	2010	2015	2016
Nationality	4									
Skill/Income										
Quota	5									
Family					2	2	2	2	2	2
Refugee	3									
Asylum		4								
Citizenship				5						
Immigrant Rights		4								
Deportation						5	5	5	5	5
Enforcement			4							
Average	3.75	3.83	3.86	4	3.78	3.9	3.9	3.9	3.9	3.9

Table B.7. Policy Scale Scores for Sweden

	1924	1951	1952	1975	1980	1986	1990	1996	2001	2002	2006
Nationality			3								
Skill/Income			2								
Quota	1										
Family							3	3	3	3	3
Refugee		3									
Asylum								4	4	4	4
Citizenship			4								

Immigrant Rights						3	3	3	3	3	3
Deportation								3	3	3	3
Enforcement										1	1
Average	1	2	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.67	2.71	2.89	2.89	2.7	2.7

Table B.8. Policy Scale Scores for the United States

Appendix C

Attacks on Countries Compared to Country Policies

		Attacks	Policy
Attacks	Pearson Correlation	1	-.086
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.560
	N	48	48
Policy	Pearson Correlation	-.086	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.560	
	N	48	48

Table C.1. Attacks vs. Policy in Australia

		Attacks	Policy
Attacks	Pearson Correlation	1	-.150
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.310
	N	48	48
Policy	Pearson Correlation	-.150	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.310	
	N	48	48

Table C.2. Attacks vs. Policy in Brazil

		Attacks	Policy
Attacks	Pearson Correlation	1	-.370**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.010
	N	48	48
Policy	Pearson Correlation	-.370**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.010	
	N	48	48

Table C.3. Attacks vs. Policy in China

		Attacks	Policy
Attacks	Pearson Correlation	1	-.023
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.875
	N	48	48
Policy	Pearson Correlation	-.023	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.875	
	N	48	48

Table C.4. Attacks vs. Policy in Germany

		Attacks	Policy
Attacks	Pearson Correlation	1	-.397
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.092
	N	48	48
Policy	Pearson Correlation	-.397	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.092	
	N	48	48

Table C.5. Attacks vs. Policy in Rwanda

		Attacks	Policy
Attacks	Pearson Correlation	1	.260
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.075
	N	48	48
Policy	Pearson Correlation	.260	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.075	
	N	48	48

Table C.6. Attacks vs. Policy in Sweden

		Attacks	Policy
Attacks	Pearson Correlation	1	-.361*
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.012
	N	48	48
Policy	Pearson Correlation	-.361*	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.012	
	N	48	48

Table C.7. Attacks vs. Policy in the United States

		Attacks	Policy
Attacks	Pearson Correlation	1	-.221**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	306	306
Policy	Pearson Correlation	-.221**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	306	306

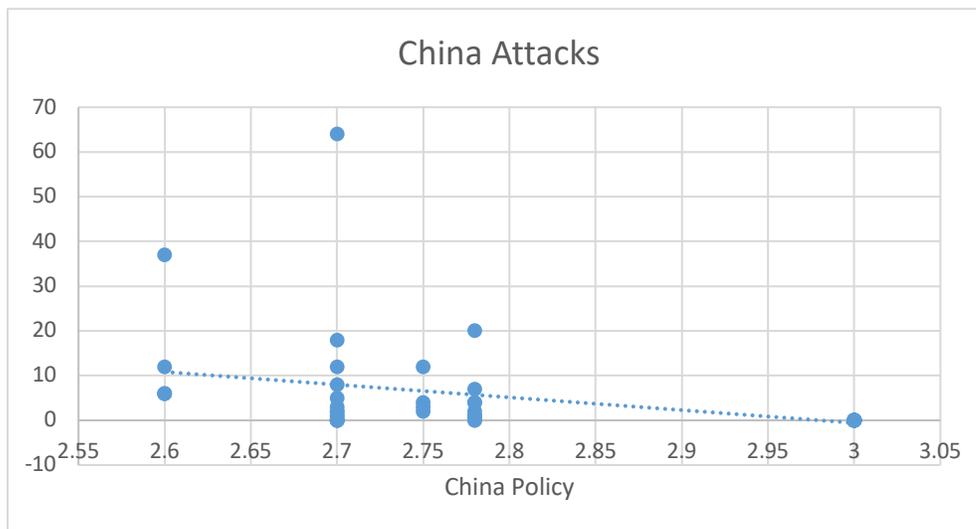
Table C.8. Total Attacks vs. Policy for All Countries

Appendix D

Country Curve Estimations and Graphs

Model Summary and Parameter Estimates							
Dependent Variable: China Attacks							
Model Summary						Parameter Estimates	
Equation	R-Square	F	Df1	Df2	Sig.	Constant	B1
Linear	.137	7.275	1	46	.010	84.886	-28.483
Independent Variable: China Policy							

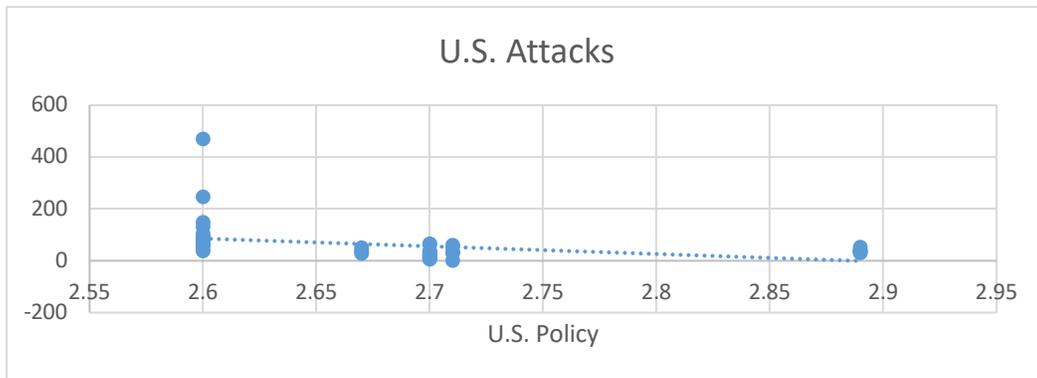
Table D.1. Curve Estimation Data for China



Graph D.1. Curve Estimation for China

Model Summary and Parameter Estimates							
Dependent Variable: U.S. Attacks							
Model Summary						Parameter Estimates	
Equation	R-Square	F	Df1	Df2	Sig.	Constant	B1
Linear	.130	6.873	1	46	.012	860.275	-297.941
Independent Variable: U.S. Policy							

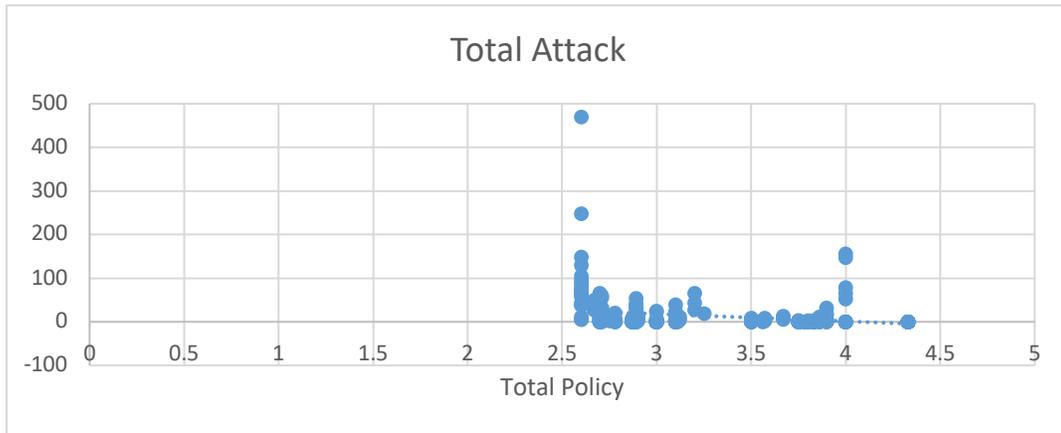
Table D.2. Curve Estimation Data for the United States



Graph D.2. Curve Estimation for the United States

Model Summary and Parameter Estimates							
Dependent Variable: Total Attacks							
Model Summary						Parameter Estimates	
Equation	R-Square	F	Df1	Df2	Sig.	Constant	B1
Linear	.049	15.635	1	304	.000	68.064	-16.678
Independent Variable: Total Policy							

Table D.3. Total Curve Estimation Data



Graph D.3. Total Curve Estimation